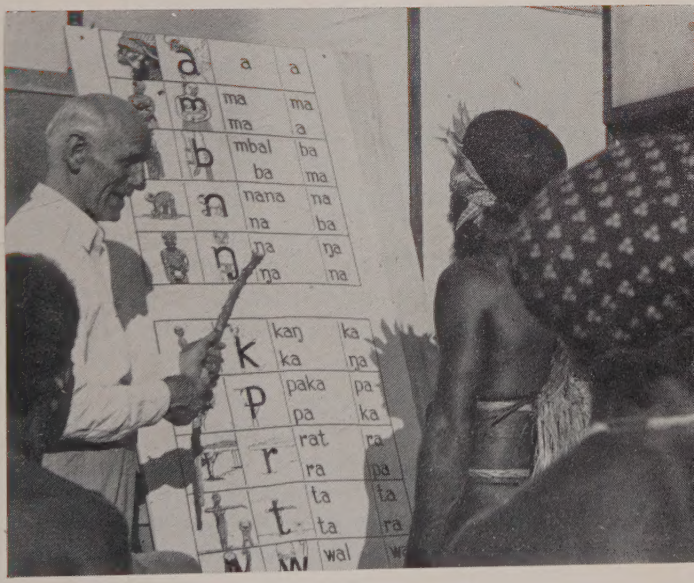
April 1954

Fellowship



LAUBACH AND FRIENDS

30¢

Letter from Britain

by Tom Wardle

ff This month's picture-story catches one of the Fellowship's most renowned members in action. He is literacy expert Frank Laubach, truly *A Man With a Mission*—a mission stupendous in outreach and evangelistically Christian in concern. Readers will be interested to note the part literacy plays in India's village development plan. . . . *Anand's Neighbor Has TB* gives some idea of the kind of enlightenment current literacy material aims to bring to the world's backward peoples. . . . John Swomley has taken time out from a busy travel schedule to suggest strategy for Christian pacifists working within the Church. He feels strongly that "those who believe that it is easier to persuade all of society, or government, to abandon war than it is to persuade the Church" are unrealistic, and he explains why. . . . Pastor Martin Niemöller, popular German preacher, contributes a moving meditation under the title "*Basic and Corporate Inhumanity.*" . . . While Tom Wardle, a London journalist, writes an informative *Letter from Britain* that interprets for us on this side of the Atlantic, significant events no longer, if ever, rating Page One space in our newspapers.

FELLOWSHIP

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Puerto Rico

There is something peculiarly shocking about the kind of random attack on members of Congress by three Puerto Rican Nationalists last month. Pacifists cannot but condemn the violence which the Nationalists from time to time have employed and dissociate themselves from any participation in it. Yet there are some other things to be said also.

Most comments on the shooting take the position that the violent deeds were done by members of a group of five hundred or so in Puerto Rico and around fifty in New York and Chicago, and that these people must be regarded as deranged persons—in some cases paranoiacs. They have no real following, it is explained, not only because Puerto Ricans do not approve their methods but because, at least relatively, conditions are so good that Puerto Ricans generally are satisfied with the "Commonwealth" status Congress has given them.

The suggestion that Don Pedro Albizu Campos and some of his followers are indeed suffering from a persecution complex is plausible, if only because over the years they have been subjected to repeated imprisonment and other trials, but it will be a grave mistake if Americans accept the theory that we have only some mental cases to deal with.

The "Commonwealth" of Puerto Rico is an anomoly in the American system. The Federal government handles the island's foreign relations, including defense and trade. Puerto Rico has a single Resident Commissioner in Congress who has no vote, and who speaks only by permission of Congress. Under Federal

laws, in the making of which they have absolutely nothing to say, Puerto Ricons are drafted to serve in U.S. armies. Not only Nationalists but the Independentista Party, which adheres strictly to peaceful methods, calls this "a tribute of blood imposed without representation."

The contention that only a handful of Nationalists want independence also seems false. The Independentista Party polled nearly 20 percent of the vote in the 1952 elections, 126,000 compared to 66,000 in 1948. The Nationalist Party claims that the majority of the Puerto Ricans are opposed to the present status and indicated this by adopting that Party's advice to boycott the referendum.

Add the fact that the Munoz Marin regime has enacted a loyalty oath and fired a brilliant young pacifist architect, Robert Pope, because he would not take the oath (although no one contended that he was a subversive); that it enacted a law at least as bad as the notorious Smith Act in the United States; and that the Marin regime exacts contributions to the Popular Democratic Party from all Puerto Rican office holders—and one has additional reasons for believing that Nationalists and others have legitimate grievances.

Under these circumstances, it will be well if the people of the United States will see the recent Puerto Rican events as part of the whole problem of relations with Latin America and not as a question of how to deal with a handful of neurotics or psychopaths.

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Massive

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is an honorable, sincere, church-going Christian. More than that, he has held important positions within the structure of the church, so that he is far more than a "Sunday Christian." During the Second World War he was chairman of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace set up by the Federal Council of Churches, and put real time and effort into the work of expounding the Christian bases of lasting world peace. Such men as Bishop Oxnam give him warm support, and speak of him as the best present hope of introducing Christian principles into national policy.

Yet Secretary of State John Foster Dulles is also the official who enunciated—lovely, rolling word beloved of editorialists

everywhere—the new American policy of "massive retaliation," which means, simply, replying to "aggression" anywhere by a wholesale, unlimited assault on what is conceived to be the enemy's heartland.

It is worth taking time, preferably every day, to reflect on what that kind of unlimited assault will mean. It will mean an attack on centers of population with atomic and hydrogen bombs. The "old-type" atomic bombs are capable of creating total destruction of an area with a radius of from one to three miles; hydrogen bombs of the near future are estimated to be able to extend that to ten miles. Draw a circle twenty miles in diameter with your home as a center and figure every structure, every person, every animal, every tree within that circle consumed and obliterated. Then you have an idea what "massive retaliation" means.

Secretary Dulles is no scapegoat on whom the blame can be heaped for this monstrous thing. He is simply the symbol of the point to which a people has come whose leaders—even whose religious leaders—can plan this kind of demonic savagery and call it Christian.

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Anti-Communist

Some of the delegates to the Inter-American Conference in Venezuela tacked on some embarrassing amendments to the United States-sponsored anti-Communist resolution. Most of the Latin American countries agreed that such a resolution was in order, but added that resolutions were not enough and that action was needed to eliminate the economic and social breeding grounds of communism.

Senora Cecilia Ramon, wife of the president of Panama, hit hardest when she referred to economic as well as racial discrimination being practiced against Panamanians working in the Canal Zone. "This regrettable reality," she pointed out, "constitutes a fertile base for Communist propaganda to poison the minds of our people."

The Panamanian amendment, which must have had our boys looking sheepish, called on the conference nations "to abolish racial discrimination as an effective measure to combat international communism" and to recognize that "within the scope of human liberties we are all equal before God and the law."

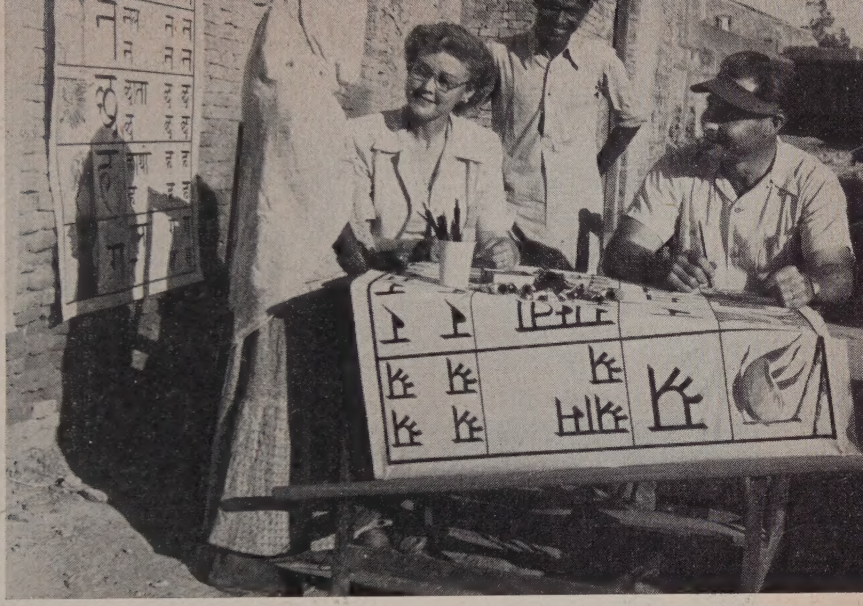
Man With a Mission

In the words of Dr. Laubach, the India Development Plan is "an attempt to reach the whole of man and the whole of the village." Here he shows friends an improved variety of seed potatoes.

FRANK LAUBACH, FOR member and the world's leading literacy expert, wages continual war, not against anyone in particular but against the ignorance and backwardness of three-fifths of the world's peoples. He calls it a "war of amazing kindness," calculated to win the hearts of the underprivileged masses of Asia and Africa to democracy.

Undeniably it plays a part in the struggle between the West and the Communists for the minds and souls of men. In Laubach's words: "Help the underprivileged help themselves out of their poverty and misery and they will be thereby conditioned to help us think and build peace . . . but abandon them to Soviet propaganda and there'll be war, with the majority of them lined up against us." Although admitting that many Americans' interest in his work and in technical assistance generally throughout the world comes from fear of communism, he makes clear that this is not his motivation: "On the other hand, many of us have not been frightened into it. Many of us have believed in this thing all our lives. . . ."

Mindful of the way communism has of flourishing among destitute and unhappy peoples, India in 1952 put into effect a Village Development Plan that would try to lift the masses out of poverty three ways: by increasing land production, by



Learning can be made attractive. Artists Phil and Ewing Gray work on colorful Hindi chart. Illiterates first learn to associate sounds with pictures, only later with letters.

bettering native health, and by making the peasants literate. Twelve million villagers were to be reached in a year with agriculture, health and literacy services. Funds from Point Four and the Ford Foundation supplement the huge amount being spent by the Indian government.

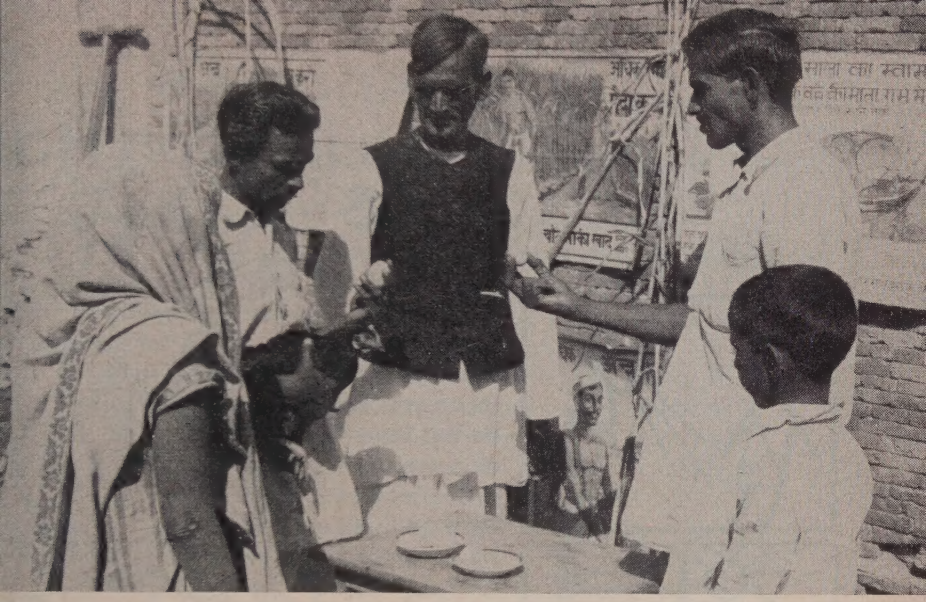
The success of the total program hinges on literacy and the production of simple informative literature. For this vital work, Laubach, already skilled in teaching over two hundred languages and dialects by his simple picture chart method, was engaged. For seventeen years he had been troubled with the lack of a satisfactory Hindi reader; now the time pressure stimulated its creation. *Anand the Wise Man,* capable of being translated into other Eastern languages, was the result. Of it, Laubach writes:

"We asked the agricultural men what they most wanted to tell the villagers, and then we wrote it in the second reader. Here in this book are forty secrets which experts know and which will prove a blessing to every illiterate farmer in India. When the new literate reads the second reader he memorizes all the words and the ideas. Every idea as well as every word is repeated at least five times. It is like driving new ideas into his head with a sledge hammer. Something like that is needed because the illiterate is the most conservative person in the world. . . ."

By reading a simply developed story in uncomplicated grammar, the new literate learns how Anand (with whom he immediately identifies himself) makes a latrine, gets seeds from the government to grow better crops, buys a new plow, raises better chickens, teaches his wife how to feed the baby, and so on. Thus the process of learning to read brings with it the sought-after cooperation with health and agriculture experts.

How happy a new literate is and how grateful to his teachers, Laubach and his immediate workers well know. We can get a clue from these words that Laubach has put into the mouth of U Sein, the Anand of Burma: "The best friend a man can ever have is the man who teaches him to read and who helps him to get good books. For a man who cannot read is like a

The first step in literacy work is analyzing the vowel and consonant sounds of the language to be taught, and canvassing it for from 300 to 600 words that should be included in the first reader because of familiarity, utility and common phonetic composition. Here Dr. Laubach and a local committee are constructing word lists for lessons in the Hindi primer.



Literacy is integrated into India's Village Development Plan. The Second Hindi reader passes on to the villagers the very information that agricultural and health experts are trying to teach, such as how to raise chickens that will produce more and better eggs.

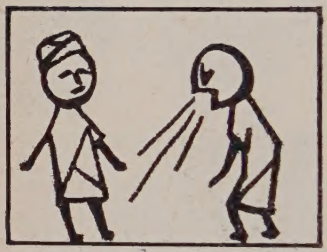
lind man. . . . I was blind but ow I am not blind. I can read. hat is why I am no longer ungry, that is why my village no onger has malaria. That is why ur village no longer has germs. That is why we never get smallpox. That is why we have gardens and orchards and milk goats in our village. All because one man with a kind heart taught me to read. . . ."

"I have mixed with tens of thousands of illiterates. I have cooperated with thousands of government educational men and with thousands of Christian, Moslem and Hindu workers. Everywhere, high and low, I found the same conflict between need of us and suspicion of our motives. They need us desperately, but they desperately fear that our price for helping them will be a new imperialism."

—**Frank Laubach**

Portions of a sample chapter from a second reader for new Indian literates, Anand the Wise Man, *developed by Frank Laubach.*

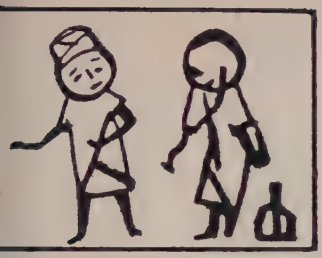
Anand's Neighbor Has TB *(Tuberculosis)*

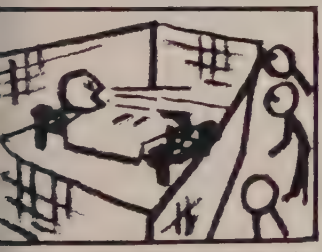


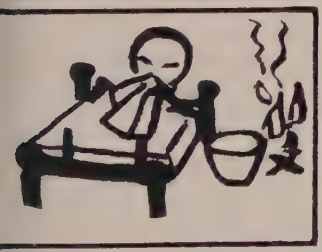
Revati said: Our neighbor is coughing
Our neighbor Govind is coughing
Govind has been coughing for six months
Govind does not stop coughing
He coughs day and night
He has fever and sweats at night
He sweats every night
He is weak and thin
He is getting very thin
He does not want to eat
Anand what does your book say
Anand read his book on health
The book said:
If you have a cough for six months you may have tuberculosis
If you have fever and sweat at night you may have tuberculosis
If you are weak and thin and do not want to eat you may have tuberculosis
Revati said: So Govind has tuberculosis
He sweats every night
What can he do
Anand read his book. It said:
A person with TB should go to the hospital
If he cannot go to the hospital put him in a separate room

. . . . . .

So Anand went to the doctor
He said: Our neighbor is coughing
He has coughed for six months
He has fever and sweats at night
He is weak and thin
He does not want to eat







Can you come and see him
The doctor said: Govind may have TB
I will go and see him
The doctor went to see Govind
He said: Govind you have TB
You must go to the hospital
Govind said: I don't want to go to the hospital
The doctor said: Then you must live in a separate room
You must not give your family TB
Do not give your family TB germs
Your family may get TB from you
Do not use the dishes your family uses
Have separate dishes
Keep your dishes separate
Do not let the family use your dishes
Your germs are on the dishes
Wash your dishes separately
When you cough, cough in a cloth
Cover your mouth
Put a cloth on your mouth when you cough
When you cough the germs go six feet

. . . . . .

Govind spit in a kolhar
He put ash in the kolhar
He put spit in the fire
He lay in bed
He lay in bed one year
In one year Govind was well
His family did not get TB
Govind went to see Anand
Anand you brought the doctor
You are a very wise man
Anand smiled and said
The doctor was the wise man this time.

From the English edition of ANAND THE WISE MAN, Committee on World Literacy and Christian Literature.

A LEAVEN WITHIN THE CHURCH

by

John M. Swomley, Jr.

THE CHIEF PROBLEM confronting the peace movement today is finding a strategy capable of defeating war.

Everyone hates war, but most people hate or fear something or someone else even more, and look on war as an ally against these "enemies." In the final analysis, therefore, they support war even while opposing it.

The pacifist, on the other hand, does not think of persons as enemies who must be killed in order to destroy evil. The unique contribution of pacifists is their conviction that war itself is the enemy, and their consequent decision that they cannot participate in it. On this all pacifists unite.

When it comes to united action against war, some pacifists see the end of war only when many more people—perhaps a majority—become pacifists. Others see the willingness of other nations, or one other nation, to disarm and be good, as the prerequisite. Still others believe that endorsement of universal disarmament or world government or Point Four by our own government would accomplish something for peace. Some assert that war-making governments really want to give up war and will if only they can negotiate an adjustment of national interests with the opposing power.

Few pacifists hope to convert enough of their fellow citizens in time to prevent war. Many have functioned, therefore, on the assumption that they must propose and support a program that will end war and, at the same time, be acceptable to those who support war and profit from it.

The consequent inclination of many pacifists to attack war indirectly, with solutions they hope will prove acceptable to war-making governments, has created other

difficulties. In enlisting support for universal disarmament, for example, pacifists do not ask their fellow citizens to oppose their own nation's armaments and militarism unless the enemy also decides to be against armaments. Support of world government is not tied to its obvious corollary, which is to stop supporting nationalism.

Illusion Created

Such activity, resulting in lip service to disarmament or world government by the same people who support armaments and nationalism, creates the illusion that something is being done for peace. In practice, however, militarization of our nation has gone further than ever before, with less genuine anti-militarism to combat it; we suffer under an increasingly strident nationalism (including efforts to banish anything un-American) and less of a feeling for world brotherhood; Christianity is more closely identified with a war-making culture than has been true for decades; and pacifism is more than ever a minority movement. Certainly this last reflects the nature of the present world crisis, but it reflects also our failure to work at the job of winning people to a full pacifist commitment.

A minority like ours cannot hope to alter the course of events by peripheral action, or by joining and compromising with the majority who support war. It must attack and change the major premise to which the public is committed. Avoiding that central issue may make it possible to work with large groups of people, and hence to appear to be politically relevant, but relevance is not really determined by the popularity of what we do so much as by the pertinence of our program to the problem that requires solution.

Our mistaken strategy may grow also out of a mistaken concept of government. Government, whether totalitarian or democratic, is not the complete and final authority. Government did not create society; society created and sustains government. Society is made up of many social relationships: those of family, church, business, labor, community, etc. However much government may be an instrument of force and coercion, it is an error to suppose that government originates in the superior force of a ruling group. Government in such complex states as the U. S. is, as Professor Robert MacIver has pointed out, "the continuation by the more inclusive society of a process of regulation that is already highly developed within the family."

One Aspect of Power

The power of government is one aspect of power among many. It is, in fact, simply the formal expression of the authority of the other social relationships that maintain it. The laws and actions of a government do not necessarily express the real will of the men and women who serve as its executive and legislators. A majority of persons in the House of Representatives, for example, individually favored Universal Military Training even when in early 1952 they voted to defeat it. They had to adjust to the pressures of public opinion as reflected by the churches, the schools, labor, farm, and other groups. Similarly in Tito's Yugoslavia, the government, although formally supreme, could not impose a land collectivization program against the real will of the farmers.

In a democracy or in a dictatorship, leadership in a political party, or status arising from wealth, military service, or other factors, may determine who shall hold the office that symbolizes power. They do not in and of themselves determine how that power shall be exercised.

Not Source of Authority

Since government is largely the formal expression of authority rather than the source of authority, it must adjust itself to the pulls and pressures of public opinion. It must be responsive to the various groups within society from which it derives its real power.

All of us know how responsive the American government has been to the pressures of business, and, under the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, to the pressures of labor. Once in a while we note its responsiveness to the will of a church, or churches in general, as in the case of birth control, federal aid to education, or the question of whether or not to investigate the clergy for un-American activities.

In some respects the church is the most powerful institution in our society, although Christians tend generally to underestimate it. All other social groups cultivate the church because to some extent they cannot act without some claim to moral justification. Business seeks the support of the church for the free enterprise system. Labor and its friends have supported a Religion and Labor Foundation, or used clergymen as chaplains in unions. The Army, Navy, and Air Force rely on chaplains to soften the moral impact of killing on the soldier and to give religious sanction to war.

Needs Moral Justification

When it comes to war, the nation needs moral justification. It blames aggression on the other nation and calls its own action a "police action" in the interests of world order. It tends increasingly to picture the struggle between Russia and America as a struggle between "atheistic" communism and "Christian civilization.

The church is indispensable to war either as an active or silent partner of every nation involved. With its full and active disapproval, war would be extremely unlikely, if not impossible. If the Christian church in our own country were to reject war, the impact on militarism here and on the church in other lands would be revolutionary. Christians everywhere would know that they could count on American Christians to wage war on war, rather than on their brothers in other lands. Missionaries would not be suspect as agents of American imperialism.

If American Protestant churches were to take such a position, could the Roman Catholic Church fail to follow suit? And *vice versa*? Could either Protestants or Roman Catholics stand being branded a war church if the other became a genuinely peacemaking church?

The world church could not turn a deaf ear to an American church that was truly ecumenical. For our part we could do more to oppose militarism and warmaking in other lands by encouraging the church in all lands to reject war, than we could by any other process.

If we want the church to win the respect of the Communists or to serve as an instrument for reconcilation between Russia and America, this is the way to do it. Every

government and every movement understands action. During the 1953 Russian peace offensive, both American and Russian leaders demanded that the other side demonstrate its sincerity by action, not simply by words. During the postwar years, in my own experience with groups in Washington seeking to confer with officials of the Russian embassy. I noted how difficult it was to get a conference with anyone important in the embassy or to have such a conference be anything more than a pleasant chat over some refreshments. Yet, after I had written and published a series of studies on American militarism and helped fight universal military training, Russian embassy officials sought a conference with me and the embassy doors were open if I wanted to call. I do not minimize the power implications in the attitude that another government may have toward those who for other reasons oppose our own militarism. But I do believe that a church which renounced war while refusing to be used by another nation, would be more likely to win the respect of people and governments the world over.

Church Easier to Win

Those who believe that it is easier to persuade all of society, or government, to abandon war than it is to persuade the church are, I think, unrealistic. The church has vested interests, but not to the same extent that government has. The church has at least a verbal commitment to Jesus' way of love that other social groups and governments do not have. Its music, its Scriptures and its symbolism are friendly to pacifism. In what other group do we find thousands of leaders committed to pacifism?

In speaking of the church it should be made clear that the church is not identical with the sum of all church members. It would be truer to think of the church in terms of the small groups of sensitive Christians upon whom its mission ulitmately depends.

One of our major purposes as a movement should be to persuade the church to withdraw moral support from war. It is not our job to try to ameliorate foreign policy or to persuade a war-making government to include some political or economic element of reconciliation within its program. These elements of reconciliation will follow if the church is true to its calling. As Jesus put it, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and all these things shall be added unto you."

Nor is it our job to draw up the blueprint of a new warless society and to ask Congress to put this in the form of a resolution. Even if such a resolution were to pass, it would be meaningless unless the groups that make up society and give real power to government had changed also.

It is not our job at this stage to draw the conclusion but to build the major premise on which a peaceful society must rest. The real job is not that of a program, like pushing Point Four or universal disarmament. Public opinion can be for these and for war at the same time. Our program should be that of withdrawing moral as well as personal support from a war-making state while serving as agents of reconciliation in all our relations in society. This would lead us to function as a leaven for peace within the church, so that the church in turn might serve as a leaven in a warring world.

Strength for These Days—

Basic and Corporate Inhumanity

by Martin Niemoller

THE STORY of the man Jesus is the challenging story; here we all without distinction are faced with the holy God in a unique way. For here we become confronted with a human being bearing the image of God undefiled, with a man who —in contrast to us all—is at peace with God and at peace with his fellow men, who in perfect obedience does what God wants him to do, "obedient unto death, even the death of the Cross." He not only fulfills, he lives the great commandment, loving God with all his heart, with all his soul, with all his mind, and loving his neighbor as himself. Nobody can doubt his word when he says: "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish His work!" None of us can open his mouth when this man says: "Which of you convinceth me of sin?"

Once confronted with him, we come to see that he really is human, and that we are not; we are not obedient and therefore at peace with him; nor are we a help to our neighbor and therefore at peace with him.

Speaking of the crucified and risen Christ, we cannot pass over this challenging character of Jesus as the Son of Man, whom St. Paul calls the second man, hinting thereby that since Adam there has been not a single true and real human being except for Jesus.

But this—and nothing but this —has been the reason why he had to die on the Cross; man cannot be tolerated in a world which has become deeply inhuman and whose institutions, programs and plans are made for sinners, that is, for

Niemöller, one of Nazidom's most famous prisoners during the last war, is a pastor of the German Confessional Church. This meditation has been drawn from one he preached to the Third World Conference of Christian Youth meeting in Kottayam, India, in December of 1952.

inhuman beings and not for human children of God.

Thus Jesus is an extremely disturbing element in this world, which simply cannot comply with his saying: "Thou shalt love thine enemy!" What is to become of this world if Jesus is right? The world says "Property" and Jesus contradicts: "If a man will sue thee at law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also!" And the world says "Justice" and Jesus answers: "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also!" Therefore Caiaphas, speaking for this inhuman world—and it does not matter whether it be pious or impious; it remains inhuman in every case—Caiaphas is right with his advice: "It is expedient to us that one man—the one man—should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not."

Christians who really believe in him and follow him as their Lord and Master, always will remain strangers and suspected people, sheep among wolves, and the normal state of his church is persecution and enmity of the world and not friendship and peace.

The Christian world wants Christ as a good servant for its own aims and ends, and when we comply, and only then, we may have peace and good times. But if we insist upon Christ as our real and last authority, then it will become clear that there is no room for him, not even in a Christian world, except on the bar of the Cross. The crucifixion of Jesus Christ is the last and desperate act of self-defense of an inhuman world which will not part with its basic and corporate inhumanity.

And yet we, that is, this world of ours, cannot get rid of him, because the crucified dying man cannot be provoked to become inhuman also; he cannot be induced to turn his back on his fellow man's serving brother so that his death becomes the fulfillment of his mission. Praying "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!" he clings to the sinful human generation, as he clings at the same time to his heavenly Father, sustaining, bearing and overcoming in his person the unimaginable tension, contrast and enmity between the Holy One and the sinner. It is here that something becomes transparent of the "power of God" working in the "preaching of the Cross." Here the world is overcome: "The prince of this World cometh, and—hath nothing in me!" His death means definite victory; and we may understand what Peter had in mind when he said: "It is not possible that he should be holden of death!"

In the courtyard of our prison in Dachau concentration camp, there stood a gallows; I had to look at it every day and to listen to its preaching; and I had to pray a good deal on its behalf. My fear was not that one day they would hang me to this bar (you get accustomed to such a prospect, as you get accustomed to the fact that you may have to face death at any time); my fear was what I would do the moment when it would happen. Would I then cry out with my last strength and breath: "You made me die like a criminal, but you yourselves are the real criminals; and there is a God in heaven, and He will show you!"? If Christ had died this way, there would be no preaching of the Cross, there would be no forgiveness, no salvation, no hope; for there would have been no reconciliation from

God's side, there would have been no resurrection, for the "Son of Man" would not have been the "Son of God," in whom God would have been well pleased; he would not have been the "second man" bearing the undefiled image of God! He would only have been one more specimen of our race, of self-loving, sin-defiled, inhuman mankind. If I had died this way, I would have died in unbelief, not trusting that the prayer of Jesus was prayed for me and was accepted by God for me; for none of us can live by God's forgiveness and thus be reconciled to him without becoming reconciled to our enemies as well and without offering forgiveness to our fellow men.

The consequence is that we Christians cannot simply and wholly take our stand with one side in secular power conflicts; we therefore cannot fight for a "Christian world" against an "anti-Christian world" as sometimes we are expected to do.

It ought to be clear that this does not mean that to be a follower of the crucified and risen Christ makes for indifference or for inactivity. Ours is not a passive attitude toward what is going on in this world; we are passionately interested in national and international, in economic and social politics and problems, and it is our Lord himself who kindles our hearts through his spirit with a burning fire.

"It is the duty of the churches belonging to the ecumenical movement to create a public opinion everywhere whereby the watchword shall ring out from all papers, all gatherings, all churches right across the world, 'War is a crime!' " said Dr. Otto Dibelius, Bishop of Berlin [in an address delivered at the University of Copenhagen, Denmark].

All responsible churchmen must, he said, ask themselves, "What can we do to avert war?" Only one thing, he said, was essential—men must learn to think in a new way. The Church should create an atmosphere which counteracts the perils of war. Efforts for union could unquestionably lead to a United States of Europe. "But," the Bishop declared, "only a union that includes Russia and Poland can prevent war. God desires that not merely the individual but the nations should abandon their egotism. What is a utopia today can be a reality tomorrow. The Church of Jesus Christ would be a poor affair if it did not have utopias which are after God's own heart, and nothing can be more after God's heart than for nations to cease to wish for war, and instead to work together in His name."

—Ecumenical Press Service, December 2, 1953

Letter from Britain

by Tom Wardle

BY THE END of the first week of the talks Eden and Molotov and Dulles were off the front pages of all the newspapers except the *Daily Worker*. The reading public went back to its routine consumption of murders and scandals in the aristocracy. The boring, pessimistic reports of a stuffy and complicated conference thankfully were at an end. The conference itself was not but it might well have been. The British citizen, in the vernacular of the post-war years, "just couldn't care less."

"Foreign Secretaries," remarked someone mystifiedly, "don't seem to have the pull they used to have." What this will mean for the future peace of the world is anybody's guess. On balance it could be for good.

THE ONE OTHER TOPIC that is calculated to keep the front pages sizzling these days is Mr. Oliver Lyttelton's non-stop colonial variety program. Events in the British Colonial Empire still have editors reaching for their atlases and pukka sahibs for their double whiskies. The Colonial Secretary has been described, a little ungracefully perhaps, as the only bull who carries his own china shop around with him.

He is a man of strange temperament. Shortly after deposing the Kabaka of Buganda from his traditional throne, he could allow him-

self to be photographed shaking hands with the black ruler. Then he could go back to a crowded House of Commons and explain in a voice shaking with emotion how much it hurt him to do this to a man who was "a member of my own University (Cambridge), my own regiment (The Guards) and", the final touch, "a friend of my own son."

But if Mr. Lyttelton is mixed up about colonial problems, the British people are more so. The rash of crises in the Empire has startled and bewildered them. How many had ever heard of British Guiana before the Jagan affair? And Buganda—where was that? From Kenya came reports of a court-martial in which allegations were made of a British officer shooting unarmed Africans in the back with a machine-gun. Troops were supposed to have cut off the hands of dead men for fingerprint checking.

WERE THESE really our boys—our nineteen- and twenty-year olds conscripted into the Army to keep us safe from Russia? Mr. Head, the War Minister, went out on a special mission to Kenya and concluded that there was no evidence to show that traditional British Army standards of decency had been departed from. One or two laxities had been tightened up. In the meantime RAF planes had been bombing "terrorists" in the Aberdare Forest. When a Labor member protested in Parliament he was told that ex-CO Jim Griffiths had himself laid the precedent when as Colonial Secretary of the Labor Government in 1950 he had ordered the bombing of insurgents in Malaya!

But perhaps the most anxious recent moment for the British settlers in Africa and their metropolitan backers came in February last when 9,000 African mine workers went on strike at the vital Wankie coal mine in Southern Rhodesia. This mine supplies the copper mines of the north. Within a day of the coal strike, production of copper was cut. The Southern Rhodesia Government had a further set-back when the white mine-workers union in the Copperbelt refused to send in men to break the strike.

Not much was made of the business in the British press. Strike-breaking is not a popular pastime here. And the event was serious for white supremacy, possibly its biggest challenge in Southern Africa since the African gold mines strike at Johannesburg in 1922.

No doubt things are happening in the Empire. But they are still far away. Few Britishers realize that the whole contemporary economy of their country depends on the retention and continued exploitation of their subject races. Such attitude as they have derives from a cultivated paternalism and a heavy education in what might be called "imperial geography." There is a vague sense that a good slice of the earth "belongs to them" and always has and that any attempt to monkey about with the status quo is impudent if not indecent.

IMPERCEPTIBLY, however, a change is occurring. To mitigate the effects of the recent blunders and to guard against any undue reaction, the press from Right to Left has gone all-out on a crusade against the color-bar. Each newspaper is presenting its campaign as though it, and it alone, were conscious of the evil. Crusading i

onfined to such items as attacks pon Bermuda for refusing hotel ccommodation to a distinguished Jegro politician who was stranded here when his plane was delayed, nd to a really big boost for the tory of a young Nigerian woman vho bore joined children one of vhose lives was saved after a miaculous operation in a London ospital.

Ideas like "self-government" are crupulously omitted from the ampaigns. This is the New Look n colonialism. It is shared by the ocialists who are presently makng great play with the War on Vant which, some of them say, will e necessary to ensure full employnent for British workers in the uture.

Behind all the desperateness to nake the most of remaining conial resources now that India nd Burma and Ceylon have gone, obody marks the compulsions of he cold war. Tin and rubber from Malaya, bauxite from Guiana and he Gold Coast, copper from Rhoesia and Uganda, tungsten from Tanganyika—these are increasingly the reasons for tighter control, more efficient administrations and systems of social discipline, colonial conscription.

One forthcoming event is likely to throw the whole situation into sharp focus—the conference on African defense at Dakar, due to take place in March. South Africa will send delegates, and politicians in the Union have already been urging the formation of a South Atlantic Treaty Organization to help protect her uranium mines. She is now one of the world's principal uranium producers and by a special agreement all her output goes to Britain and the U.S.

BRITISHERS and British colonials now accept the U.S. as being in support of colonialism. The statements of men like William H. Ball, personal representative of President Eisenhower at the Rhodes centenary last year and Mr. Byroade, Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern, South Asian and African Affairs, read like Colonial Office memos. Said Mr. Byroade last November, "Let us be frank

The Author

Tom Wardle, journalist on the staff of **Peace News,** international pacifist weekly, says he came to the full pacifist position while in South Africa for four years. (He returned to England in 1952.) There he did youth work, anti-TB work among the Indians, assisted Manilal Gandhi on **Indian Opinion,** founded a multi-racial work unit to work in the slums of Durban. He associated with leading figures in the nonviolent resistance movement and, last year, was asked to appear before the UN commission studying the S. African race problem. It is our hope that this letter from a passionate pacifist and shrewd reporter represents the first of many.

in recognizing our stake in the strength and stability of certain European nations which exercise influence in the dependent areas [in Africa]. They are our allies. A sudden break in economic relations might seriously injure the European economy upon which our Atlantic defense system depends."

Said Mr. Ball, "The times have added to or changed the emphasis of our interest. Africa produces many of the raw materials essential to American industry, which cannot be obtained in sufficient quantity from other sources."

THE ONE MAJOR NEWSPAPER which has consistently given fair and honest reporting of colonial and cold war issues is the Sunday *Observer*. More and more this newspaper is coming to represent the best in British thought and opinion. It has covered every big story in a year of big stories with diligence, constructiveness and restraint.

Being a weekly, it can afford to be reflective, and it uses this advantage to creative effect. It has printed articles by Michael Scott and Patrick Duncan; it reports the speeches of colonial spokesmen at length and its leading articles and comment columns would frequently almost substitute for their equivalent in FELLOWSHIP or *Peace News*. Its fine determination of duty can be judged by the fact that it printed a long review on the second Kinsey Report; its lack of circulation-chasing sensationalism by the fact that it did it a month or so after publication of the book. It has refused to join in the anti-Russianism to which the right-wing press is prone and equally it has refused to participate in the all-too-easy anti-Americanism that is the mainstay of the left-wing journals.

In the same way as one may pass from anti-Communism to a hatred of all things Slav and all men Communist so may one move from a dislike of the methods of investigating committees to an abomination of American dress, language, habits. Something like this is going on in certain circles in Europe. Pacifists are not immune to it. Yet it is in maintaining the discrimination between man and ideology that sanity and sense may be preserved in an age of lies, inhumanity and confusion.

THE Sunday *Observer* (to revert), has, surprisingly, a half million readers. And going up. The undoubted integrity of this newspaper makes all the more important a series of articles which it has just published from the pen of a German woman writer, Brigitte Gerland, who was amnestied from a Russian labor camp at Vorkuta recently.

She describes with care and balance her life during five years in the Arctic prison. Three types of prisoners are there, she says—the "believers," religious people who refuse to cooperate with the regime; Ukranian nationalists who have been fighting Russian incorporation from the beginning; and young "disciples of Lenin," the children of purged officials of previous years. Though physical work was hard and long, food was enough and accommodation adequate. Intellectual life was dynamic and furious. The young students ran a widespread movement for the preaching of the "true word of Lenin" which has assumed syndicalist and decentralist forms in their translation. Rejecting equally

oviet communism and Western apitalism, departing even from sialist notions of democratic cenralism, they advocate workers' nd peasants' syndicates.

UT THE BIG SURPRISE is in the concluding article. On July 20, 953, 7,000 Ukrainian prisoners truck work in the area. By the 5th, two hundred and fifty thouand workers—half the prison poplation of Vorkuta—were refusing o obey orders. Brigitte Gerland's last memory when she was transported back to Germany was of a slogan painted on a wall near the railway station. It stated simply "Freedom."

For pacifists perhaps the most significant thing Brigitte Gerland reports is that the students and the Christians were more effective in their resistance with the "weapons of the mind and spirit" than were the Ukrainian partisans once their rifles had been taken away from them.

Quotable

"In this battle of the age-long war [between democracy and communism], what is the part played by the Junior Senator from Wisconsin? He dons his warpaint. He goes into his war dance. He emits his war whoops. He goes forth to battle and proudly returns with the scalp of a pink Army dentist. We may assume that this represents the depth and seriousness of Communist penetration in this country at this time."

—Senator Ralph E. Flanders, Vermont Republican in the Senate, March 9, 1954

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"The harnessing of hydrogen energy for military purposes is an appalling reality, both in the U.S. and in the Soviet Union. . . . Their destructive power is measured in millions of tons of TNT equivalent. . . . 'Operation Ivy,' the first full-scale thermonuclear weapon test in history, was of such stupendous force that it completely obliterated the test island and created a tremendous crater at the bottom of the ocean large enough to comfortably accommodate 14 Pentagon buildings." (The Pentagon is the largest office building in the world, capable of housing 40,000 workers at one time.)

—Rep. W. Sterling Cole, chairman Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, quoted by Robert S. Allen in New York Post, **Feb. 8, 1954**

Membership Drive Wins Big Response

The first membership drive in the American FOR's almost forty years of existence seemed to be winning an enthusiastic response from members in March, the month devoted to it.

Hundreds of names of prospective members or subscribers poured into the national office in reply to the February letter urging collection of such names. All such persons are receiving personal letters from the national office, and names are being sent also to near-by local groups for visits.

New literature prepared especially for the campaign is getting wide distribution. Some local groups have ordered as many as 50 Membership Kits, and thousands of copies of individual leaflets have been mailed out. That the literature was having an effect was apparent even when this issue went to press in the nearly 100 requests for trial subscriptions to FELLOWSHIP that had come in on the card provided for that purpose.

Newspaper Discusses Pacifist's Book

The coincidence of the simultaneous publication of two books on prison, one by a murderer and the other by a conscientious objector, was the subject of a lengthy feature article-review in the *Kansas City-Star* last January 27. The books are *In for Life,* by Tom Runyon, a life prisoner in the Iowa State Prison, and *Diary of a Self-Made Convict,* by Alfred Hassler, Editor of FELLOWSHIP.

The *Star* article, which quoted extensively from Hassler's book, emphasized that both authors had agreed on "the utter futility of expecting good results from wrong methods," and the impossibility of society reforming criminals until it has first reformed itself.

"The almost simultaneous appearance of these books is fortunate," said the article, written by Thorpe Menn, "for the reason that their identical viewpoint is expounded by authors at opposite poles of unlawful activities. Tom Runyon is serving two life terms as a professional bank robber whose exploits resulted in the deaths of innocent persons. Hassler is a man of peace whose crime was refusal to participate in any way in World War II."

Other interesting write-ups of Hassler's book have appeared throughout the country. *Library Journal's* review was first, followed closely by the *Chicago-Tribune. MANAS, CCCO Newsletter* and *Peace News* (London) have also noted the book's appearance, as the May issue of *Progressive* is scheduled to do.

Southern Work May Open Up

The national staff reported to the February meeting of the Executive Committee the possibility that FOR work might soon be resumed in the South after a lapse of almost a decade. A two-year experimental project with subsistence workers in three regions is under study by the staff, including the new national field secretary, Glenn Smiley. The program would put one worker in the Georgia-Florida-Alabama region; one to operate in the region centered at Nashville; and one in Eastern Texas and Oklahoma.

Wilson Riles New Southwest Secretary

The appointment of an Arizona elementary school principal as the new Southwest regional secretary of the FOR was approved unanimously by the Executive Committee at its February meeting. Wilson Riles, 37-year old teacher and graduate of Arizona State College, will take over the post recently vacated by Glenn Smiley on June 15.

Wilson Riles is vice-president of the Southwest Area of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a staff announcer of radio station KGPH. He is a member of the A.M.E. Church.

The Southwest region of the FOR is currently being served by Allan Hunter, pastor of the Mount Hollywood Congregational Church, and David McReynolds. Glenn Smiley, former regional secretary, became national field secretary on January 1, and is busy establishing the new Great Lakes Region, with headquarters in Cleveland, Ohio.

Philadelphia F.O.R. Becomes Region

The Philadelphia branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, until now a city organization with a part-time paid staff, became a full regional office of the national FOR when the national Executive Committee voted March 1 to accept the recommendations of a deputation from that city.

The area to be covered by the as-yet unnamed region has not been finally determined, but probably will include everything south of Trenton, New Jersey, east of Harrisburg, and north of Baltimore. Charles Walker, present city secretary, will continue as regional secretary.

The Philadelphia office brings the total of regional offices on the national budget to six, including those in New York, Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

More Livestock For Needy Peoples

Heifer Project, Inc., pacifist-sponsored agency for getting healthy livestock to farmers all over the world, announced its spring shipping program last month.

March 3—35,000 chicks took off by air for Cairo, Egypt.

March 16—Fifty heifers for Germany.

March 20—A planeload of bees, goats and rabbits to Korea.

During April the Heifer Project will collect 45 Brown Swiss bulls (for artificial insemination) and 109 hogs will be collected for shipment to Thailand. This is the program under which the UN's Food

and Agricultural Organization reported 1,000 cows in the vicinity of Teheran alone inseminated in a single month. Crossbred calves one month old bring fifteen times as much as native calves.

Muste Refuses Tax Again

For the sixth successive year, FOR secretary-emeritus A. J. Muste last month notified the Collector of Internal Revenue that he would be neither filing a return nor making a payment.

Adding to his customary testimony against the use of most tax money for war purposes, Mr. Muste also raised the "patriotic" principle of refusing taxes in the light of the activities of Senator McCarthy and the growing importance in international relations of the Central Intelligence Agency with its "espionage activities" and "attempts at subversion in other countries."

"I cannot but feel," the veteran pacifist wrote "that if a considerable number of citizens, especially religious persons of all faiths and fellow pacifists, were to take this course, the impact would not be negligible."

CO Cases to Hershey

Court decisions that conscientious objectors are entitled to see FBI reports on their cases led last month to what may be a change in procedure in such cases. Maj. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, Selective Service Director, has directed all local boards to refer all CO cases to him before presenting them to Federal attorneys for possible prosecution.

Seek Pardon for Condemned Man

The case of Wesley Robert Wells, condemned to death in a California prison for assaulting a guard, has aroused considerable anxiety and concern among West Coast liberals. Wells, a Negro, has been sentenced to die April 9.

Even to persons who do not ordinarily have scruples concerning capital punishment the case is abhorrent. The man assaulted by Wells was not killed by the metal cuspidor thrown at him, but was back at work a few days later. Under California law, however, a prisoned under life sentence may be executed if convicted of assault.

Evidence that Wells had been recommended for treatment by the prison psychiatrist only a few days before the episode that brought his death sentence was not admitted in his trial. The California Supreme Court on the basis of this fact indicated that Wells had not had a fair trial, but then voted 4 to 3 to permit the execution.

The genuine efforts on Wells' behalf have been complicated, according to informed FOR members in California, by the fact that the Communists have attempted to make his case the same kind of *cause celebre* that they did the Rosenbergs. Since Communist efforts in such cases usually are directed quite as much to the ends of Party propaganda as to anything else, the pressure they have exerted on state officials has threatened to do more harm than good. Non-Communists who write to Governor Knight for clemency will do well to make clear their independence of such movements.

Jottings

The National Council of Churches has adopted a policy which provides that national and regional meetings of the Council or any of its units shall be held only where there are facilities without discrimination in meeting place, hotel rooms, dining rooms, elevators or other places; and that the Council and its units and staff shall not sponsor or co-sponsor any meetings which do not meet these requirements. The Council also initiated a campaign of education and help to its groups in putting the directive into effect.

A. J. Muste, secretary emeritus of the FOR, had an article in the March *Progressive* entitled "Where is Gandhi's Way?" An "open letter" to Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, the article raised questions regarding India's abandonment of nonviolence and the consequent dilemmas in which it finds itself.

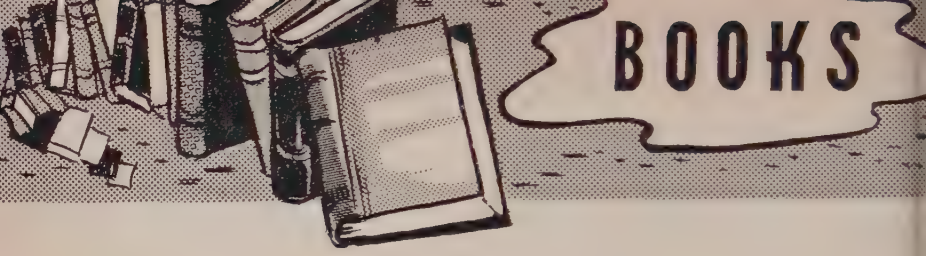
Eighty-six men and women, including many pacifists and FOR members, in February made public a declaration of their intention to "speak freely, associate as I see fit, publish and otherwise teach or advocate any ideas for political or economic changes which I deem advisable." Included in the declaration was the signers' intention to refuse to appear, if summoned, before the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities or other similar body.

The Folketing, lower chamber of the legislature of Denmark, has been given authority to surrender part of the nation's authority to an international body, such as the United Nations, NATO, or the Council of Europe.

Hugh Faulkner, organizing secretary of the British F.O.R., resigned that position in March and left the employ of the Fellowship, although continuing his membership in the organization. He had returned to England in November after a successful six-weeks speaking tour in this country under the auspices of the American FOR.

The Rev. Dr. William C. Walzer, an FOR member, became director and editor of the Department of Adult Work in the National Council of Churches' Joint Commission on Missionary Education. Dr. Walzer assumed his new duties on March 1. He was formerly professor of the history of Christianity at Scarritt College, Nashville, Tenn.

A non-profit, 45-day, 5000-mile study tour of India is announced by Professor Thomas Yahkub of Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont. It will leave the United States June 27 and return September 3. Inquiries should be addressed to Prof. Yahkub.



Terrible Tension

Walk With the Devil, by Elliott Arnold. Alfred A. Knopf, 1950. 265 pp., $3.00.

Of particular interest to pacifists is this short novel set in Italy as the war there was drawing to a close. One of the campaigns depended in part upon a bridge in a town occupied by German and Italian forces, and also incidentally by a notorious American gangster, deported ten years previously and now influential in Fascist circles and very friendly with the German commander of the town. All these things are known to American Intelligence, who conceive a plan for buying the influence of Bartolomeo Bertolini, (the gangster), by offering him reinstatement of his citizenship plus $50,000. Chosen to go through the lines and approach Bertolini with this offer is his younger brother Guy, now a captain in the Army; in peacetime a lawyer who had helped in the court trial which resulted in his brother's deportation.

It is from this situation that the book takes its title. There is an Italian proverb to the effect that "In times of great danger it is permitted to walk with the Devil."

Guy, says Bartolomeo to his mistress, Francesca, when Guy reaches him, is an All-American boy. The moral contradictions involved in a democracy making deals with men like his gangster brother as a means to win a war are sharply brought home to Guy. And at one point in the deal, when he reports the additional conditions upon which Bartolomeo will agree to deliver the bridge intact to the Allied forces, a senior officer of his also balks and tries to resign his commission.

Professor (in peacetime) Linscomb was not really at home as an intelligence officer—he was in Italy because of previous knowledge of the area, just as Guy was there because of his knowledge of the language. Professor Linscomb's impulse to "conscientious objection," however, is solved by a compromise—it is agreed that after the deal has gone through and the bridge is captured, part of the pay-off to Bartolomeo Bertolini will simply not be made! The discussion in the officers' staff meeting when all this occurs is one of the high points in the book.

Also significant are the agonizing meetings of Guy with his gangster brother—who loses no opportunity to mock at the moral predicament his brother is in. He points out the suitability of Fascism for Italy—in fact for any nation, since people need and want to be led. He points out the contradiction in the slogans of American democracy and asks about the concen-

tration camps for Japanese on the West Coast. He has, he says, great hopes for America after the war. He taunts his brother Guy with his previous morality—"Do you not think your assignment immoral?" Guy's reply is the only one he or General Culpeper or any others on the American staff has —"Immorality weighs less than lives."

At another point Guy tells Linscomb rather bitterly: "No, colonel, the only immorality in war is to be defeated. This is a victory. It is quite moral. It is actually a triumph."

However, Guy himself privately feels the defeat implicit in taking up the weapons of the enemy.

" 'In a way,' he said, 'you can say that it is a victory for their side, for Fascism. Quite an important victory. We're winning the battles, but they're winning the ideas, which is a nice twist. They won the first idea when they got us to fight, which meant we accepted their terms about how differences should be settled. The first shot we fired brought us down to their level, which I suppose is a truism about any war. We'll lick them, of course, but we'll have to lick them on their terms, and how can we convince them of their immorality by defeating them on their own terms? We lost that argument the minute we had to go to war, because at that point we agreed with them that the settling factor in the dispute was force, and that's what they'd said all the time. When we win, all we'll prove is that our muscles are bigger than theirs. It's like trying to convince a man force is a bad thing and the only way we can prove it is to hit him on the head until he understands.' "

Tension is built up until the terrible climax of the book with its violent solution of the conflict between the two brothers—and the strange exchange of their personalities.

—Marjie Carpenter

Seeing Life Whole

Education and the Significance of Life, by J. Krishnamurti. Harpers, N. Y., 1953. 125 pp., $1.50.

Packed here into 125 pages is a remarkable philosophy of education and of peace. "True education is not training, or knowledge or technique," says Krishnamurti, "but to see the significance of life as a whole. . . . The man who knows how to split the atom but has no love in his heart becomes a monster."

On discipline the author writes: "One of the dangers of discipline is that the system becomes more important than the human beings who are enclosed in it. Discipline then becomes a substitute for love, and it is because our hearts are empty that we cling to discipline. Freedom is at the beginning, not at the end, it is not to be found in some distant ideal."

The author is evidentally a pacfist! "Right education comes with the transformation of ourselves. We must re-educate ourselves not to kill one another for any cause, however righteous, for any ideology, however promising it may appear to be for the future happiness of the world. We must learn to be compassionate, to be content with little, and to seek the Supreme, for only then can there be the true salvation of mankind."

Peace, says the author, is not achieved through any ideology, nor

does it come through working to achieve a blueprint, such as world government or universal disarmament. It does not depend on legislation. Military training he feels to be an absolute hindrance to peace: "As long as we worship force, violence will be our way of life."

This is an excellent book, one that should be read carefully by parents and teachers. It is an antidote to superficial approaches to world peace and, therefore, of real value to those who while working for peace may not have a developed philosophy of peace.

J. M. S.

Individual Beauty

The Face of the City, by Edith Lovejoy Pierce. Privately published, 1953. 44 pp., $1.

Readers acquainted with Edith Lovejoy Pierce through her translation of the Philippe Vernier meditations will not be surprised to find her poems interspersed with frequent Biblical allusions. Here is a simple, forthright expression of faith by one who has also experienced doubt. *So Cries the Heart* and *Ash Lies Upon the Stone* both describe that common complaint of seekers after spiritual truth—seasons of coldness of heart with accompanying loss of the power to love.

Although the title seems rather ambitious for a forty-four-page volume of verse, and the groups of poems under each sub-title build up only fragmentary pictures of the four cities (Zion, Babylon, London and New York), beauty may be found in individual poems. For the most part lucid and lacking in pretension, the poems show a sensitivity for nature, art and, especially, man in his pathetic inconsistency, depicted in such poems as *Drafted, Heartbreak Ridge* and *Ruins.* The Rosenberg execution is commented on in *The Condemned.*

For the newcomer or stranger to New York, the title poem may strike more familiar echoes in his own consciousness than for the old

The February 10, 1954 issue of MANAS, a journal of independent inquiry published in Los Angeles, says:

Alfred Hassler's *Diary of a Self-Made Convict* strikes us as one of the best books ever issued by Henry Regnery of Chicago. . . . A growing body of literature on prison life and penological theory is one of the more encouraging signs of our times. MANAS has given special attention to several such volumes, including Warden Duffy's *The San Quentin Story,* Kenyon Scudder's *Prisoners Are People,* and Donald Wilson's *My Six Convicts.* Further good material, surprising some, appears in mystery writer Erle Stanley Gardner's *Court of Last Resort.* And, in respect to books written in prison, Nehru's prison autobiography, *Toward Freedom,* is a classic. *Diary of a Self-Made Convict* seems to us to belong to this library.

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nhabitant. Yet perhaps that prophetic sense which grieves for the unrepentant city that does not foresee its own doom needs to be cultivated more widely in our own time.

—Eunice A. Goodfellow

IN BRIEF

Everyman's Struggle for Peace, Horace Alexander. Pendle Hill, 1953. 32 pp., 35c.

"It is difficult to conceive a better general introduction to pacifism for students and others," says A. J. Muste. A clearly written statement of the religious, moral, economic and social implications and bases of nonviolence.

The Indian Testimony, Amiya Chakravarty. Pendle Hill, 1953. 40 pp., 35c.

A brief history of Indian peace philosophy, including Asoka, Buddhism, the Gita, Tagore and Gandhi. Violence, the author feels, is wrong because unlawful; unlawful because love is the law of God. A fascinating introduction by Aldous Huxley.

Let Your Lives Speak, Elfrida Vipont Foulds. Pendle Hill, 1953. 32 pp., 35c.

The challenges of the Quaker way not too imaginatively presented in reference to the lives of early Quakers.

The Inner Islands, Winifred Rawlins. Pendle Hill, 1953. 32 pp., 35c.

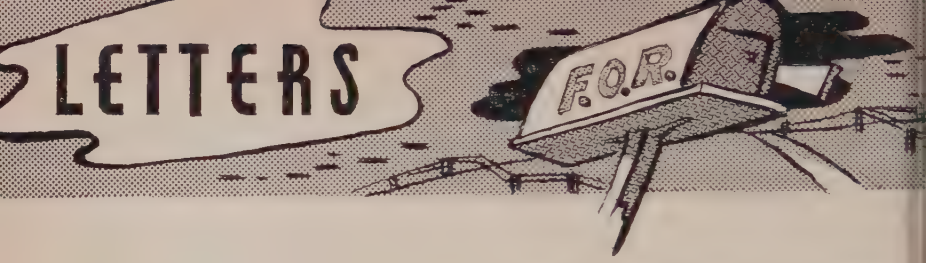
An exploration into the deep waters of the spirit by the author and a correspondent named Sue. Several times the lines of William Blake appear: "Man was made for joy and woe, and when this we rightly know, through the world we safely go." Plenty of psychology here, most of it in tune with the findings of depth psychology.

Here Where One Stands, Peter Docili. Island Press, New York, 1953. 24 pp., 50c.

Although the author's overuse of the imperative sentence may detract somewhat from the pleasure of reading this pamphlet, his plea for a return to basic things is well worth investigating. How the individual struggles against our industrialized society and tries to find both himself and his "brother."

Study Guides

Questions for discussion and study have been prepared for the following FELLOWSHIP reprints: A PACIFISM ADEQUATE FOR OUR TIMES, SOUTH AFRICA SOWS THE WIND, SURFACE TENSION, CALCULATED RISK, THE TOTALITARIAN STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL CONSCIENCE, THE CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH, THE STAGES OF NONVIOLENCE. Each guide is designed to stimulate independent thinking on the thesis of the reprint; together the guides constitute a basic course on both the theory and practice of pacifism. (Supplementary reading lists also included.) Be sure to order yours today. One discussion set (guide and reprint—indicate which one), 10c; in lots of 5 or more for group study, 5c.



The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

As nearly as I can determine, I am one of the "liberals" Mr. Swomley describes in his February article. However, I think he misrepresented us and created a straw man that was all too easily destroyed.

(1) To begin with, he categorized us fairly enough. We do prefer to throw our weight behind evolution rather than revolution. Use of the nonviolent approach by an entire nation like the United States would be an interesting experiment and might work. However, this is quite different from trying to create such a "good" revolution with the few other people in the United States who can be interested in such an approach.

(2) I wonder if we liberals really advocate a Welfare State? Mr. Swomley should provide definitions of his smear terms so we could reply.

(3) The people who "support and promote the Warfare State" (as I understand that smear term) generally are not the ones who emphasize negotiation.

(4) We are not "optimistic about the evolutionary method in a revolutionary world." We think improvement could come from a step by step approach but we are by no means optimistic that it will. On the other hand, it appears to us that work for a "good" revolution in the United States would fall on such arid soil as to be wasted effort. A "bad" revolution might gain vast support but any movement in the United States toward a "better" world would have no mass appeal unless carried out a carefuly chosen step at a time. We must apply our efforts where they have the most chance for success.

(5) We are not "fundamentally optimistic" nor do we "emphasize the essential goodness of the opponent." On the other hand, we do emphasize the similarities of our opponents to ourselves. To us no nation seems to be "essentially good" at the international level.

(6) We do not place "an uncritical emphasis on negotiation as a method for solving the present power struggle." On the contrary, we believe that negotiation is highly unlikely to prevent World War III.

(7) In almost every instance where Mr. Swomley has said that the liberal "believes" he might better have said that the liberal "hopes."

(8) We do "recognize the class struggle" in all nations. In general the people who fail to recognize the class struggle are also people who do not emphasize negotiation.

(9) We do not "believe in the possibility of saving the present civilization by some slight or easy amelioration." Even the first step is not slight nor easy. It is a hard choice. We work for the small step that may very well fail, in preference to the big step that will almost surely fail.

(10) While Mr. Swomley isolates himself by limiting his group to those who repent so God will operate through them. we seem to see less choosey individuals mobilizing large numbers of non-repentant followers with great impact upon our culture. Therefore, we "liberals" attempt to find a "good" first step (negotiation) that will attract many followers, repentant or not.

—CHARLES M. LARSON
Whittier, California

Worshipping Facts

ıe Editors,
:LLOWSHIP:

I should like to add a P.S. to Cecil ınshaw's defense of his position in e January issue. According to ebster, the root meaning of "profes-r" is "one who professes . . . as of ith or allegiance." In that sense a ofessor cannot possibly be "neutral" the classroom.

Too long have we worshipped at e shrine of the Fact-Cult. Too long ıve we tried to compartmentalize e, including man himself. This sort activity has brought tragic conse-ıences in our time. It has led us into havioristic psychology, which de-ıes man as a bundle of reflexes ithout a soul or mind. It has led us to the blind alley of positivism hich denies the spirit and regards ıtural phenomena and sense percep-ɔn as the only sources of knowledge. has brought us atomic power but ɔ plan for controlling its use be-use that was "a separate function." Pacifism is not just another ism nong other isms, as Mr. Irish would fer; it stands in judgment of all ms. It is not just another theory ısed on fact; it is a movement, a rusade," undergirded by deep con-ction. In that sense a pacifist is an vangelist in every area of his life, e he farmer, laborer, professor, or hite collar worker.

VANCE GEIER,
New Orleans, La.

A Unitarian Objects

ıe Editors,
ELLOWSHIP:

In reference to the Vern Davidson ews item (p. 22, February), I want say that I agree wholeheartedly ith defense attorney J. B. Tietz's gument: a man's status as a con-ientious objector should not be ntingent upon his belief in a preme being. This would indeed be nying such consideration to many ligious persons, and, I might add, be affording it to persons perhaps not so religious.

But while making a good point, Mr. Tietz both weakened his argument by making a statement so broad that it is ludicrous, and did a grave injustice to a large group of people. The article read: "He (Tietz) pointed out that the summary of the F. B. I. report was inaccurate and to rule that an objector must believe in a Supreme Being would deny consideration as conscientious objectors to many religious persons, *including all Unitarians.*" (Emphasis mine).

It seems to me that such a sweeping statement would be enough to make judge and jury smile. The fact of the matter is that some Unitarians are doubtlessly agnostics, as are some Methodists, though more agnostics are, no doubt, to be found among those not affiliated with any church. But what has Tietz done to the overwhelming majority of Unitarians who *do* count themselves as believers in God? Doesn't it behoove a man who charges the F. B. I. with being inaccurate in its report to be accurate in his own statements?—especially when with one breath he chooses to categorize an entire denomination.

ARNOLD THAW
Berkeley, California

"Only As Equals"

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Martin A. Miller (February, p. 28) is right. God, the Creator, has placed no denominational stigma (*not* stigmata) on man. Christ, in his prayer, recognized God as his and all men's Father; then asked that all be given daily bread. He sums up the ethics of God in "Forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors." Not as donors, but as sharers; for only as equals can we bring about the brotherhood of peace.

—OLGA SELKE,
St. Paul, Minnesota

On Flags in Church

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In her "Meditation on Two Flags" in FELLOWSHIP some time ago, Ruth Suckow made two excellent points: (1) A church should not display flags and (2) Their removal means little unless it is done with understanding. May I supplement her meditation?

The "Flag Etiquette" statute enacted by Congress provides that the American flag shall be displayed in "*the* position of honor." If the flag is on the platform or in the chancel of a church, the position of honor is specified to be at the right of the clergyman as he faces the congregation: otherwise the position of honor is at the right of the congregation. No other flag is to occupy the position of honor. This means that the American flag is to have the superior and the Christian flag the inferior position.

The statute is not compulsory. A church may, without penalty, reverse the designated positions. If the statute is followed, the symbol of the nation is superior to the symbol of Christianity (and of God). To those who understand the symbolism, which many do, this is as clear as a statement in words, "The nation is superior to God"—directly contrary to the clear teaching of Christianity. This increases the flag problems for the minister and the Christian in the congregation.

The best solution, as suggested in the meditation, is to remove both the Christian and the American flags. The symbol of Christianity is the Cross.

DEWITTE WYCKOFF
Leonia, New Jersey

No Point

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I have never been able to subscribe to your aims completely, and I think you are increasingly impractical. Recently, I heard Congressman Judd give a wonderful address on the price we must pay for real peace in Asia—military firmness plus respect for the rights of all people.

But I send you a little money each year because I think:

1. You are sincere.
2. Your name combines the two best words in the New Testament.
3. In these days of growing fear you should have a chance to make your witness.

But there is no point in sending extra appeals.

Name Withheld

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At Last!

It's been a long time since we first started thinking about making up study questions for our reprinted FELLOWSHIP articles. A long time, too, since we said they were "forthcoming." But they've come forth at last, thanks to the regional staff workers who applied their brains to the project. We think they're tops for opening up discussion on pertinent pacifist issues, and should be used. Available are:

The Stages of NONVIOLENCE
reprinted
Calculated Risk
Fellowship
a monthly magazine published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation 21 Audubon Ave., N. Y. 32, N. Y.
the CHALLENGE to the Church
SOUTH AFRICA Sows the Wind
A Pacifism Adequate for Our Times
The Totalitarian STATE AND The Individual CONSCIENCE
Surface Tension

Surface Tension, John Swomley

A Pacifism Adequate For Our Times, George Houser

The Challenge to the Church, G. H. C. Macgregor

Calculated Risk, Alfred Hassler

The Totalitarian State and the Individual Conscience, Culbert Rutenber

South Africa Sows the Wind, Constance Hamilton

The Stages of Nonviolence, André Trocmé

Discussion set (reprint and guide) 10c; in lots of 5 or more, 5c each

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21 Audubon Avenue New York 32, N. Y.

Two Items - - -

Timely and Related

1 André Trocmé, in THE POLITICS OF REPENTANCE, likens the Church to an immature youth reaching towards adulthood. The Church is adolescent, he says. Its conscience is stirred when nation after nation takes up the sword, but in its gangling confused state it cannot proclaim its feelings to the secular world with conviction, and so the struggle for power continues unchallenged.

2 A. J. Muste discusses adolescence, too, in HOW TO DEAL WITH A DICTATOR. In this case it is our conception and practice of One World that is in process of growth. We will know how to deal with dictators, says Muste, when we face up to the fact that the world's very foundations are rocking with revolution, and when we dare allow that we can do something to hold ourselves away from the ragged edge of war.

Two timely statements of our lack of faith—in God and in man.

THE POLITICS OF REPENTANCE, $2

HOW TO DEAL WITH A DICTATOR, 25c

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